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KOREAN MIRACLE

JOAN ROBINSON

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

THE EDITORS

The Leap That Did Not Rest

D. S. DAWSON

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

An order for a set of bound volumes of MR, recently received from the Presidential Palace of a large country in Africa, put us in a quandary. We have for years been short of several issues in Vol. 2 (particularly #5), and there was not a single copy of that volume on our shelves. The situation was saved when one of our oldest workers brought in her bound copy of Vol. 2—against a promise that we would make another plea to our readers. Herewith our plea: please look over your back numbers of MR; if you find and send to us Vol. 2, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, we will gladly send you in exchange for any of those issues your choice of any MR Press pamphlet or paperback book. And with it will go our special thanks.

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When we first started publishing books we made it a practice to keep our readers informed of current titles and the savings that were available by a combination price of book with subscription. With our growing list of active titles we find it difficult to compress all the information into two facing pages. We are working on the problem and should come up with a solution soon. Meanwhile, in this issue, we have made room for a list of

(continued on inside back cover)

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FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Imperialism has many aspects, so many indeed that it is quite impossible to encompass them all in a neat definition or formula. So at a time when this hydra-headed monster is ostentatiously displaying its ugliest face in the Congo and South Vietnam, it may be useful to call attention to some of its less obvious characteristics and consequences. This may help us to avoid an oversimplified view and to keep firmly in mind the real underlying reasons for the shameful events now unfolding in Africa and Asia.

Common to most theories of imperialism, including all which claim a Marxian origin, is a stress on the central importance of foreign investment. There is no doubt that this is fully justified, but it is important to understand the phenomenon correctly and not to be deceived by certain arguments which occupy a prominent place in the arsenal of imperialism's apologists.

It is sometimes asserted, and perhaps more often just taken for granted, that foreign investment represents a transfer from one country to another of capital which might otherwise have been invested in the first country. The investing country is thus supposed to place a part of its surplus product (savings) at the disposal of the receiving country and in this way to hasten the latter's economic development. In return, the investing country receives interest or dividends, and eventually its capital is repaid, from the increased production of the receiving country. Everyone is presumed to benefit from this arrangement.

Now, such a relationship between two countries is not only possible; it actually exists in quite a few cases in the world today. For example between the Soviet Union and Cuba. The USSR has been lending money to Cuba which Cuba has been

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using to build up its productive capacity. These loans carry a low rate of interest (2.5 percent) and are repayable over a period of 12 years, at the end of which both the added productive capacity and its current output will be entirely at the disposal of the Cuban economy. This, however, is most emphatically not the way foreign investment works in the capitalist world: as a generalization from capitalist reality, the theory summarized above is a monstrous lie. Foreign investment has always accomplished precisely the opposite of what the theory claims—a transfer of surplus to, not from, the investing country.

The mechanics may differ from one case to another. Sometimes there is actually an initial transfer of purchasing power from the investing to the receiving country. But such is by no means always the case. The initial investment may be nothing but patents, with actual capital being raised locally. This, for example, is the way the Ford Motor Company of Canada got started. The American company took a controlling stock interest in exchange for patents, and Canadians put up money for the rest of the stock. Over the years, the enterprise was enormously expanded and the Canadian stockholders bought out—from profits earned in Canada.

Or the initial investment may consist essentially of a concession granted (usually corruptly) by the "host" country. This is obviously the basis of the tremendous foreign investments of the great international oil companies. Perhaps they sent abroad a small amount of capital some time in the distant past. If so, it was as nothing compared to the flood of profits earned by their foreign subsidiaries. These profits provided the source of all future expansion abroad as well as of a swelling tide of remittances to the parent companies in the United States and Western Europe. The orders of magnitude involved can be gathered from the following report carried by the *New York Times* of November 19th:

> Probably no United States industry has fared better overseas than the oil business. Ira H. Cram, chairman of the executive committee of the Continental Oil Company noted this yesterday when he said: "During the last 40 years our country's share of the free world's oil production has fallen from 74 percent to 35 percent, but the percentage contributed by United States-based

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companies has only declined from about 85 percent to 71 percent." He added that United States companies had about 63 percent of the non-Communist world's proved reserves of oil.

In recent years, earnings on oil ventures abroad have brought an important return, Mr. Cram said. From 1957 to 1962, he noted, American oil companies spent $4.2 billion in foreign nations and brought home earnings of $7.6 billion. "That happens to be 51 percent of the earnings returned to the United States by all industry," he said.

What does this sucking oil and money out of the rest of the world for the benefit of giant corporations (and their stockholders) in the United States have in common with that idyllic picture which portrays foreign investment as a process of helping poorer countries to develop in exchange for a modest compensation? Obviously nothing whatever. What is involved here is a vast transfer of surplus produced abroad *to* the United States. And these multi-billion-dollar payments to the United States, far from enabling the paying countries to acquire title to the assets within their borders, go hand in hand with a steady expansion of the holdings of the American giants.

But perhaps oil is a special case? Let us see.

No one would deny that the heyday of British foreign investment was in the half century before the First World War. According to a reliable estimate, in the years 1870-1913 there was a net export of capital from Great Britain of £2.4 billion,* equivalent in those days to some 12 billion dollars having more than twice the purchasing power of today's dollar. Even by today's standards, that is a lot of foreign investment. But did it really represent a transfer of resources from Britain to the receiving countries? Evidently, the answer depends on how much income was flowing into Britain from these investments during the period in question. According to the same authority, the sum was £4.1 billion.** In other words, the flow of capital *from* Britain was only about three fifths of the flow of income *to* Britain. Or to put it still another way, during the 43 years preceding the First World War Britain extracted from the rest

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* A. K. Cairncross, *Home and Foreign Investment,* 1870-1913, Cambridge, England, 1953, p. 180.

** *Ibid.*

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of the world £1.7 billion more than she invested in it while at the same time steadily building up her foreign holdings. Who was "aiding" whom?

For the United States, official figures of the kind required are available for the years beginning with 1950.* In that year, total direct foreign assets of American corporations (this is by far the most important form of foreign investment) came to $11.8 billion. By 1963 this had grown to $40.6 billion, a spectacular increase of $28.8 billion, or 244 percent, in thirteen years. According to the official figures, exactly half of this increase ($17.4 billion) represented net export of capital from the United States. But here again we must take into account direct investment income flowing to the United States from abroad, and in the relevant period this amounted to no less than $29.4 billion. In other words: during the period 1950-1963 American corporations extracted from the rest of the world $17.4 billion more than they invested in it, while at the same time adding $28.8 billion to their foreign holdings.

How are such things possible?

Fundamentally, the answer is that the foreign branches and affiliates of American corporations are fantastically profitable, partly because they operate in monopolistic and rigged markets and partly because by applying more advanced American techniques they can produce at lower costs than local rivals. These profits, including large sums labeled depreciation or depletion in order to cheat the tax collector, are the source of the huge remittances to the United States, and they also provide most of the money needed for local expansion. This is indicated by a so-called sources-and-uses of funds analysis for direct foreign investments in mining, petroleum, and manufacturing which the Department of Commerce now publishes annually. During the last three years (1961-1963) foreign subsidiaries in these fields paid out a total of $27.2 billion broken down as follows:**

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* In the *Survey of Current Business* (published by the Department of Commerce), November 1954, and thereafter August of each year (containing an annual survey article).

** All figures are from Fred Cutler and Samuel Pizer, "U.S. Firms Accelerate Capital Expenditures Abroad," *Survey of Current Business*, October 1964, p. 12.

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Property, Plant, and Equipment	44.1	percent
Inventories, Receivable, and Other Assets	25.9	"
Income Paid Out	30.0	"
Total	100.0	"

On the other side of the ledger, the sources of this same total of $27.2 billion were as follows:

Profits	42.0	percent
Depreciation and Depletion	26.0	"
Funds from Abroad	18.6	"
Funds from the United States	13.4	"
Total	100.0	"

Here the relative unimportance of funds from the United States shows up clearly: evidently most American enterprises abroad can now take care of their own financial needs, from internally generated funds and from outside local sources, while at the same time sending billions of dollars to the parent companies in the United States. The large and rapidly growing importance of the item "funds from abroad"—between 1961 and 1963, it increased by more than 50 percent—is also noteworthy. For the most part this represents borrowing from local banks and capitalists and signifies an expansion of American control beyond the limits of American ownership.

These figures on investment and income are very far from giving a complete picture of American economic penetration abroad or of the sums received by parent companies from their foreign subsidiaries. Many wholly foreign-owned companies are in one degree or another dependent on American technology and know-how, and the fact that United States investments are heavily concentrated in precisely those areas of the economies of the receiving countries where the most modern and sophisticated technologies are used lends an importance to the American sector which is much greater than the bare quantitative data can convey.

With respect to payments other than interest and dividends by subsidiaries to parent companies, the official surveys report a very rapid increase in fees for management services of various

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kinds and for the use of royalties, copyrights, and similar intangible property. By 1963, the total annual amount of such payments by foreign subsidiaries to companies in the United States had reached a figure of over $600 million, which was some 20 percent of direct foreign investment income. And of course there are various kinds of illegal payments which never get recorded at all—for example, those arising from manipulating prices on transactions between parent and subsidiary, a practice commonly resorted to in countries which attempt to put limits on the amount of profits which can be remitted abroad.

A Case in Point

But let us eschew further global figures and generalizations and examine in some detail a specific case of American foreign investment, the Cyprus Mines Corporation (CMC). This enterprise is both interesting and instructive for a number of reasons. In the first place, throughout most of its existence it has been quite typical of United States foreign investments in the extractive industries. Secondly, it is changing its character and approaching the pattern of the diversified multinational corporation which is increasingly dominating the field of foreign investment today. Thirdly, since the end of its operations in Cyprus seems to be in sight, we can in this case attempt at least a tentative assessment of the total impact of foreign investment on a receiving country. And finally, we can see quite clearly in this case who are the chief beneficiaries of foreign investment. To all this should be added that Cyprus is very much in the news these days and that anything which throws light on the situation and forces at work there is particularly timely.

The account which follows is based on a story which appeared in *Business Week* of October 10th, 1964 ("Hot Spot that Produces Plenty of Cold Cash," pp. 102-110.) This story does not answer all the questions we would have posed if we had been doing the research, but it answers the main ones and permits what appear to be reasonably safe inferences in the case of others.

CMC has its headquarters in Los Angeles, and until quite recently its fortunes were entirely tied to copper mining on the

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Mediterranean island of Cyprus. The company was born in 1912 when a prospector, backed by Col. Seeley W. Mudd, came upon the Skouriotissa mine which had been worked by the Romans and abandoned some sixteen to seventeen centuries ago. The original investment seems to have been the prospector's grubstake. Whether additional capital was provided from the United States to bring the mine into production does not appear; in any case, if the initial flow was from the United States to Cyprus it was soon reversed. The company prospered under the leadership of Col. Mudd, his son Harvey W. Mudd, and his grandson Henry T. Mudd, the present chief executive. Today, CMC is the largest employer in Cyprus with a payroll of 2,400 (the total population of the island is about 600,000); and there is no doubt that the capital for this expansion, as well as for other purposes to be discussed presently, came from the profits of the Cyprus operation.

A turning point in the history of CMC came with the opening of the Mavrovouni mine in the early 1930's. Reputed to be one of the world's richest copper ore bodies, Mavrovouni also produces commercial quantities of iron and sulphur. Shut down entirely during the Second World War, Mavrovouni, taking advantage of extraordinarily low costs (wages on Cyprus are low and ore wastage is only 12 to 15 percent compared with 95 to 99 percent in an average cooper mine) and of the boom prices for metals which prevailed during the late 40's and 50's, has since become a fantastic bonanza. Postwar net profits from operations in Cyprus have amounted to about $100 million, 80 percent from Mavrovouni. Unfortunately, *Business Week* does not give a corresponding figure for remittances to the United States, but from certain facts which are reported one can infer that very nearly the whole amount of net profits must have been remitted. Liquid assets (cash and government securities) held by the parent company rose from $4.5 million in 1946 to $21 million in 1951, and this of course was in addition to dividends paid. At the present time, with the exhaustion of Mavrovouni expected in 1965, CMC is spending only about $500,000 a year on mill improvements and on preparing the long-idle Skouriotissa mine for open-strip operations. Funds for this purpose might come out of profits, but more likely would be

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covered by depreciation and depletion. All indications, in other words, are that CMC's policy has been to suck Mavrovouni dry and send the proceeds back home.

What has been done with these huge sums of money?

Partly they have been distributed to stockholders, enabling, among other things, the Mudd family to retain

its position as one of the keystones of philanthropy in Southern California. Harvey Mudd College in Claremont—"it was built by Mavrovouni"—occupies much of Henry Mudd's time. Other benefactions: a philosophy building at the University of Southern California, gifts to Pomona and Claremont, an engineering building at Columbia University in New York. (*Business Week,* as cited, p. 110.)

But more important, the profits from Cyprus have enabled CMC to build up an entirely new economic empire, both in the United States and abroad, which gives every sign of carrying on in the tradition of Mavrovouni, filling the coffers of CMC and providing the wherewithal for Henry Mudd and his scions after him to carry on with their good works. This new empire began to be put together in the early 1950's when Mavrovouni's profits were rising to their peak but it was already clear that the bonanza would soon be nearing exhaustion. Among CMC's new ventures, often undertaken in conjunction with other corporate giants, *Business Week* lists the following:

- An iron mining company in Peru, soon expected to be CMC's largest revenue producer.
- A copper mining company in Arizona with twice the capacity of the Cyprus mines but poorer quality and hence lower profitability.
- A Panamanian shipping company, scheduled in the near future to add to its fleet a 60,000-ton, $7.5-million ore and oil carrier.
- Timber and mill operations in Oregon and British Columbia.
- Forests in California and Alabama.
- A cement plant in Hawaii.
- Two chemical works in the Netherlands.

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- A residential building company in Phoenix, Arizona.
- An iron mining company in Australia.

As it prepares to take its departure from Cyprus—the Skouriotissa mine is not expected to last beyond the early 1970's—CMC is thus being reborn as a widely diversified multinational corporation with rosy prospects for the future. What about Cyprus itself?

Like most other American corporations with large foreign investments, CMC prides itself on its progressive labor and social policies. It pays wages which are high by Cyprus standards (£1/13/- to £2 a day = $4.62 to $5.60), is the island's largest taxpayer, and "has poured millions into housing, schools, recreational facilities, a modern hospital, a program to provide milk and yogurt for children." *Business Week* quotes CMC's vice president as saying: "We could have been just an episode in the island's long history, but we're trying to create something worthwhile to leave behind." (*Op. cit.*, p. 106.)

How bitterly ironical that must sound in the ears of a Cypriot familiar with the facts and not bemused by "free world" ideological mystifications! For what is it that CMC will "leave behind"? Above all 2,400 unemployed. How long will they be able to go on living in their houses, sending their children and their sick to the company-built schools and hospitals, using their recreational facilities? Presumably as long as the government of Cyprus is willing to subsidize these facilities from its reduced tax revenues, i.e. at the expense of the rest of the island's population. Will not the "beneficiaries" of CMC's largesse then angrily reflect that CMC was indeed but an "episode in the island's long history"—and in many ways the most disastrous episode in a history which has been no stranger to disasters? For imagine where Cyprus could be today if it had been able to borrow the capital to exploit Mavrovouni as a 2.5-percent 12-year loan, similar to those which Cuba has received from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries! The loan would long since have been paid off, and the $100 million which has gone into the Mudd philanthropies and the new empire for CMC could have been used to build a viable and rapidly expanding economy. And Harvey Mudd College

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under another name could have become one of the great educational institutions of the Mediterranean and Middle East.

Mavrovouni is played out, and the great opportunity for Cyprus is gone. But it is still not too late to salvage something from the CMC debacle. A Cypriot government free to act in the interests of the island's people could immediately nationalize Skouriotissa, borrow on "Cuban" terms the few million dollars needed to modernize it, and retain for the island's benefit the profits of its remaining years. Did someone say compensation for CMC? No, what must be meant is compensation *from* CMC: surely if there were any justice in the world, Cyprus would be able to sue CMC for the $100 million already stolen from it.

This situation evidently throws a most revealing light on the recent history of Cyprus and its present international relations. The Left, represented primarily by the Communist Party, the largest party on the island, is very strong in Cyprus, having played a leading role in the struggle to throw off the yoke of British colonialism. A really independent government could hardly govern without its support, and would therefore inevitably take a strong anti-imperialist line. Can there be any doubt that such a government's principal targets would be the nationalization of Skouriotissa and the elimination of the British military bases (so important for the control of Britain's Middle Eastern oil empire)? Conversely, therefore, the task of the imperialist governments must be to prevent Cyprus from acquiring a really independent government.

For this the handiest instrument has been the traditional imperialist weapon of "divide and rule," with the age-old antagonism between the Turkish minority and the Greek majority as a ready-made point of insertion. This antagonism could have been alleviated, or perhaps wholly overcome, in a healthy society such as would have been possible had Cyprus been able to dispose over the wealth of Mavrovouni. But with its economic lifeblood being drained away into and through Southern California, it was easy to maneuver Cypriots into increasingly bitter fights among themselves. Hence the grant of "independence" with its provision for a Turkish minority veto backed up by intervention powers to Turkey itself; hence the incitation of Turkish Cypriots and the Ankara government (one of Wash-

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ington's most loyal stooges) to resist all efforts of Archbishop Makarios's government to eliminate the veto and gain the freedom to follow a progressive nationalist policy; hence the bringing in of the UN to "mediate" the bitter communal quarrel thus brought to the stage of civil war; and hence also the sanctimonious and utterly hypocritical preachments of imperialist "statesmen" in favor of law and order, reconciliation, brotherhood, and all the other virtuous forms of behavior which imperialism has always prescribed for its hapless victims.

But enough. The lessons of Cyprus, and indeed of the whole history of foreign investment by the imperialist countries, are surely clear:

First, no country should ever under any circumstances permit foreign corporations to own and operate enterprises within its borders. Such enterprises by their very nature are not and never can be instruments of economic development; they are pumps designed to suck up the country's wealth and transfer it abroad. This principle holds not only for underdeveloped countries but also, and in a sense specially, for the advanced countries of Western Europe, Canada, and Japan where American corporations have been concentrating their foreign operations in recent years.*

Second, in countries where enterprises owned by foreign corporations already exist they should be immediately nationalized. The question of compensation is of course a political one; but the fact that in some cases it may be thought expedient to make some sort of payment (as, for example, Cuba has offered to do under certain conditions) should not be allowed to obscure the fact that foreign investors have no moral claim to compensation. Quite the contrary: in 99 cases out of 100, if

* This is a subject which must be reserved for separate treatment. Here we will only say that there is considerable evidence that the capitalist classes of these economically developed countries are being pressured and bribed into conniving at and even actively assisting the American invasion: as things are going now the whole capitalist world is rapidly being incorporated into the American empire. The forces behind this trend were not properly evaluated and taken into account in our analysis of "The Split in the Capitalist World" (MR, April 1963), and it is clear that the whole subject now needs to be reconsidered.

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the eminently capitalist rule of quid pro quo is applied, it will appear that foreign investors owe large sums to the countries in which they have invested.

Third, from now on foreign capital should be accepted only as loans.

Finally, the acid test of any government or political party, the criterion by which to judge whether it is genuinely devoted to the cause of national independence and economic development, is its attitude toward foreign investment.

(December 6, 1964)

The imperialist urge is perhaps best illustrated in a statement Cecil Rhodes once made to a friend: "The world is nearly all parcelled out, and what there is left of it is being divided up, conquered, and colonized. To think of these stars that you see overhead at night, these vast worlds which we can never reach. I would annex the planets if I could; I often think of that. It makes me sad to see them so clear and yet so far."

Rhodes died too soon. What a pity! For in a laboratory on the desert of New Mexico, Professor R. H. Goddard has been experimenting with a rocket ship that is to make a flight to the moon. In a mountain fastness in Wales the British Interplanetary Society carries on its work of perfecting a rocket capable of reaching the planets. If only Rhodes had lived!

However, there may be comfort for his soul in the thought that his spirit still survives, stronger than ever before. When the Man in the Moon greets the first passenger on the first rocket ship, that passenger will undoubtedly reply with a question whispered in his host's ear, "How would you like to borrow some money to fix up your old canals and build some new ones? Now just sign here, and my bank will take care of all the details. . . . There you are. . . . Thank you."

—Leo Huberman, Man's Worldly Goods, 1936

Can one imagine a more flagrant form of interference in the internal affairs of an independent state than the joint action of the colonialists in the Congo carried out by Belgian paratroopers transported to Stanleyville in American military transport planes from the Island of Ascension, which is under British control? Hardly. But we can be sure that the people of the Congo have not yet said their final word and that they will defend their right to freedom and independence from those who in a mortal grip have grasped the copper and diamonds, cobalt and uranium belonging to the Congolese people.

—Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to UN, December 7, 1964

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KOREAN MIRACLE

BY JOAN ROBINSON

I

Eleven years ago in Pyonygang there was not one stone standing upon another. (They reckon that one bomb, of a ton or more, was dropped per head of population.) Now a modern city of a million inhabitants stands on two sides of the wide river, with broad tree-lined streets of five-story blocks, public buildings, a stadium, theaters (one underground surviving from the war) and a super-de luxe hotel. The industrial sector comprises a number of up-to-date textile mills and a textile machinery plant. The wide sweep of the river and little tree-clad hills preserved as parks provide agreeable vistas. There are some patches of small gray and white houses hastily built from rubble, but even there the lanes are clean, and light and water are laid on. A city without slums.

The traffic consists of trolley buses, trucks, and an occasional official motorcar; no carts or pedicabs; few bicycles. The only touch of Asia is the Korean woman in traditional dress, often with a baby strapped to her back. Even traditional dress, however, is mostly made from artificial fabrics.

The only other town I was able to see on my brief visit was Hamheung on the east coast, which was razed to the ground by naval artillery. It consists now of a series of blocks of flats for workers' families, well spaced and seeming more varied and better designed than those in Pyongyang (it was built later), with a fine new bridge and many parks. As this is a center of the chemical industry, the factory area is at some distance, to avoid fumes. It is served by a narrow-gauge railway to take the workers to and fro. Other towns and cities have been recreated just as fast.

Joan Robinson is the well known English economist who writes frequently for MR. These notes are based on observation and conversations during a short visit to North Korea in October 1964, and on the Report of the Statistical Bureau of the Planning Committee on the fulfillment of the plan for 1963.

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Even more remarkable are the neat villages, scattered over the countryside, of new cottages in traditional style, white-washed walls and gray-tiled curved roofs. (They began by building blocks of flats for peasants but soon found that it did not answer.) Each has its school, nursery, and office buildings. Very few of the old mud huts with grass thatch survive, some being used as temporary quarters for the building teams. By the end of the Seven Year Plan there are to be none left even in the mountains. Already 70 percent of the villages have electric light in the cottages.

Cut off from its rice bowl in the South, the North has built up its agriculture by irrigation and improved farming methods. It now produces 5 million tons of grain (58 percent rice) which feeds the population of 12 million comfortably and permits a small export surplus. The annual output of piece-goods allows 20 meters a head—man, woman and child; there will soon be this much from vinylon alone, Korea's own artificial fibre. All miscellaneous consumer goods are home-produced—supplies are adequate but quality is to be improved. Agriculture which used to absorb 80 percent of the labor force now accounts for less than half. There is already universal education, in town and country, from the ages of 7 to 14, soon to be extended to 16. There are numerous nursery schools and crêches, all without charge. There is a complete system of social security for workers and employees. Pensions are at the level of 50 percent of wages, whether the recipient continues to earn or not. Peasant families in difficulties are looked after by their co-operative farm. The medical service is free. A nation without poverty.

All this is underpinned by an annual supply of 12 billion kwh of electric power, more than one million tons of steel, 14 million tons of coal, 2½ million tons of cement, and a machine-building industry which is expanding manufacturing capacity to make it possible to plan an annual growth in industrial output of 18 percent, including equipment for transport and mechanized agriculture.

II

All the economic miracles of the postwar world are put in the shade by these achievements. How could it be done?

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It is true that North Korea did not start absolutely from scratch. The Japanese had built up mining and production of pig iron, wood pulp, and fertilizer. Heavy industry and technical education began to develop after 1945 and continued to some extent during the war in underground shelters. Aid of $550 million from the socialist countries helped to give reconstruction a start. But this was little enough. The credit must go to well conceived economic strategy and to patriotic rage and devotion expressing itself in enthusiasm for hard work.

The first three years after the war were devoted to reconstruction. In the Five Year Plan of 1957-61 the main emphasis was on heavy industry and electrification, following the Soviet formula; but at the same time there was enough development of housing, agriculture, and light industry based on small-scale local enterprises, to ensure a marked rise in the standard of living. The Seven Year Plan which followed broke with the Soviet formula. For the first three years (now just ending) chief attention was given to agriculture and light industry (while the expansion of heavy industry continued more slowly). Now, having satisfied themselves that everyone is adequately provided with food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and educational opportunities, the authorities will go all out for expansion of basic industries again. This strategy the Koreans found for themselves. In China the switch in policy came a year later, and was forced on them by a run of bad harvests, which Korea was spared.

The method of plan control is similar to the Chinese. When the outline plan is given to an enterprise, it enters into contracts with receivers and suppliers—yarn to the weaver, cloth to the commercial department for the retail stores—with detailed specifications and delivery dates, sanctioned by fines. This avoids the endless troubles about the product mix and the fever of last moment plan-fulfilment, which have plagued Soviet industry.

Investment in iron and steel is useless without investment in education. The school system was rapidly built up, and 96 institutions of higher education were established where there were none before. At present, it is said, a quarter of the population is in full-time education of one kind or another (2 per-

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cent of the whole in universities and technical institutes) and there are facilities for part-time study, at every level from primary to university entrance, in the schools and colleges attached to the enterprises and at county centers in rural areas. A pool of technicians and experts of more than 200,000 has been built up from nearly nothing, and will be doubled in the course of a few years. With such hasty expansion one may question the standards. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating: the trucks are running, the electric pumps are irrigating the fields, the machine tools are being exported. Sport, music, and the arts are also fostered, all subordinated to one aim.

Workers are consulted by management when the Plan is being framed and encouraged to make suggestions about methods of work. Through this means, startling increases in productivity are achieved. A steel works with furnaces of a nominal capacity of 60 thousand tons was actually producing 40 thousand. The Prime Minister came for "on-the-spot guidance" and told the workers that the nation needed 90 thousand tons from them. The workers and technicians decided that it was possible and pledged themselves publicly to carry out the assignment. Actually they produced 120 thousand tons. This was brought about by a combination of technical improvements each small in itself—the furnaces were relined with better, and therefore thinner, refractory bricks, smelting was speeded up by using more oxygen, and so on.

The chemical fertilizer plant at Hamheung was exceptionally severely blitzed (was it a strictly military objective?). The workers returning after the war were bewildered and could not see where to begin. Once more it was the Prime Minister who came to the site and encouraged them to get going. The old skilled workers, students who had been sent abroad for training during the war, old professors—anyone who knew anything at all about chemical engineering—were called together and set up a study group to plan the reconstruction. Some production began after two years. The output is now 700,000 tons a year, in a modern automatic plant; a million tons are planned for 1967. A new process based on gassification of anthracite is being developed.

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Nearby is the vinylon plant—the pride of Korean industry. A process for making fibre based on coal was invented by a Korean in Japan. Development there was delayed by the Pacific war. The inventor offered it to South Korea, but no one was interested. After some further vicissitudes he brought it to the North. There coal is precious but no end of limestone is available. He revised the process to use limestone as the base. The plant was put up in less than a year and began producing, without recourse to any foreign help or any foreign materials. Output is now 20,000 tons of yarn per annum, to be increased to 30,000.

In all enterprises there is an eight-hour day, with an hour's break for lunch; there is a six-hour day for heavy work and for occupations dangerous to health. Workers receive holidays with pay of fifteen days a year (a month for heavy and dangerous work), and there are rest homes for cases of ill health. The general manager of an enterprise is responsible for the housing estate in which the workers live, the nurseries and nursery school, and supplies to the shops, so that no one need worry about his home affairs and can concentrate everything on work and study. This kind of paternalism is disgusting when its object is more intelligent exploitation. It appears in quite a different light when it springs from a shared patriotism.

It seems that high productivity comes from enthusiasm rather than excessive toil. Married women carry a heavy load. Women are 51 percent of the population and 49 percent of the labor force, which means that few except the elderly are not employed, and even those who stay at home are given work on the putting-out system, organized by co-operatives. Family planning is not encouraged and abortion is illegal. Maternity leave with full pay, creches, nursery schools, prepared foodstuffs, help to free women for work; washing machines have begun to appear, but there are no prams. The girls, no doubt, are happy to have escaped the old-style oriental family and to be studying, driving overhead cranes in the steel works, or showing off gymnastics in the patriotic mass games which are a Korean speciality.

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III

A thoroughgoing land reform was put through immediately after liberation in 1945. During the war of 1950-1953 the women and old men left in the fields formed mutual-aid groups. After the armistice a sprinkling of co-operatives were set up, both of the "lower form" (in which the land put into the pool ranks for a share in the product) and the "higher form" (where only labor earns a share). By 1958 all peasants had joined higher-form co-operative farms. Joining was in principle voluntary. Some better-to-do peasants joined and left and joined again several times before they could make up their minds. But the movement was pushed on by the help—irrigation, tractor ploughing, house building, technical advice—given to the co-operative and not available to those who stood out. The great rise in yields that has taken place since has no doubt put a ratchet firmly behind it.

The co-operative of a few hundred households forms the lowest administrative unit in the countryside, the *ri*. A dozen or so *ri* are grouped under a County Agricultural Committee, which gives each co-operative its annual plan, supervises its fulfilment, gives technical advice and is responsible for supplies of fertilizer, etc. The county runs a tractor station, but a particular group of tractors is allotted to each co-operative. Initially, rebuilding the villages was sometimes undertaken by the co-operative, but it is now entirely done at government expense and presented to the co-operative free of charge.

The whole net crop of grain is distributed to the members on the basis of work points. The households are then free to sell the surplus over their own requirements to the state procurement agency, which usually provides transport. The co-operative also has money to distribute, from the sale of fruit, vegetables, meat, etc. The household has a small private plot and may raise pigs, poultry and so forth to use at home and sell in the county market. The agricultural tax, formerly 9-11 percent of produce, is gradually being abolished, starting with the poorer co-operatives. Factories using local materials are run by the county. The co-operatives are to concentrate on farming. The system is more uniform, more regulated, and more spoon-fed by the administration than the Chinese com-

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munes. The level of members' incomes is well above the Chinese average, though below the highest. The great increase in production is due first and foremost to electrified irrigation, and next to the spread of technical improvements such as the cold-bed method of vernalizing seed, use of artificial fertilizers, and pest control. Doubling of per hectare yield over five years is commonly claimed. Mechanization contributes to increasing yields, for instance by making deep ploughing possible, but its main purpose is to reduce the burden of labor and make country life less unattractive to the rising generation.

The spread of income is very narrow, both between town and country and within industry. (A qualified engineer gets only twice the basic wage.) Equality is further promoted by price policy. Rice in the town is sold at less than a fifth of the procurement price. The subsidy is recovered in the price of manufactured consumer goods. The margins are adjusted to exempt things needed in the countryside or for children from this burden, so that differences in standards of living between small and large families as well as between town and country are further reduced.

Every industry and every service is building up capacity so as to be able to rush aid to the South as soon as communications are opened up. Every conversation, every public speech, ends bitterly with an account of the miseries prevailing there.

IV

What lessons for the economics of development can be drawn from the Korean miracle?

First, that there is something after all in national character. The Koreans have an expression, *jooche,* which means—applying Marxism-Leninism to our own problems in our own way. In Cuba, for instance, the problems are of equal dimensions and the revolutionary enthusiasm no less, but the pace is not the same. The intense concentration of the Koreans on national pride and national wrongs is most unlike the sunny, expansive Cuban style; but it is markedly more effective.

The next point is the pernicious effect of foreign aid prolonged beyond the first boost. A country that relies on aid is spared the necessity, on pain of death, to organize its agricul-

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ture, and so can limp along with a social structure inimical to growth. And even when aid does not breed outright corruption, it breeds a race of administrators to wangle and control funds, rather than technicians to create wealth.

But what about the economies of scale? Here is a country of 12 million setting out to install the whole gamut of industry and boasting of being 93 percent self-sufficient in machine production. Certainly it is sensible for a developing country to make do with home-produced consumer goods, for what the eye does not see the heart will not yearn for. But for machinery, the text-book prescription for a small country is to concentrate on a few lines and import the rest.

Korea rejected this policy primarily on political grounds—they had no desire to remain a one-sided economy, dependent no matter on whom. But it turns out that their policy of self-reliance has some economic advantages also.

First of all, psychological. Imported equipment, with imported know-how, inspires awe and does not help to throw off colonial mentality. Timing, also, is important in planned development. The Koreans found that some essential equipment took two and a half years to arrive from a European socialist country, which they could reproduce in four months. Above all, with their own corps of technicians they can mold design to their own conditions. Of this, the story of vinylon is a dramatic example. Perhaps economies of scale are not so important after all.

V

The formal system of government is on the usual pattern of the socialist world. In practice it seems to be even more than usually concentrated in one individual. The outward signs of a "cult" are very marked—photographs, street names, toddlers in the nursery singing hymns to the beloved leader. But Prime Minister Kim Il Sung seems to function as a messiah rather than a dictator. After the war he went for 15 days to live in a remote village, and emerged with a program for agriculture and a style of work for the Party which would enlist the support of the peasants. He visits every plant and every rural district for "on-the-spot consultation" to clear up their problems. He comes to

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a hospital to say that the life of doctors and nurses must be devoted to the welfare of their patients, and this thought inspires their work every day. He explains to the workers in the heavy machine plant that their products are the basis of industrialization, and pride renews their zeal. To us old cynics it sounds corny. But imagine a people hurled suddenly from a blank colonial past, without a clue, into socialism and into the twentieth century. He gives them a coherent and practicable vision of what they are to be. No deviant thought has a chance to sprout.

If professed liberals find all this abhorrent, their duty is plain: let them explain clearly to the people in the South what is happening in the North and leave them to choose which they prefer.

Actually, of course, great pains are taken to keep the Southerners in the dark. The demarcation line is manned exclusively by American troops, down to the cleaners, with an empty stretch of territory behind. No Southern eye can be allowed a peep into the North. There is no postal connection. *This* wall is not opened at Christmas for divided families to meet. Korean nationals in Japan have recently been allowed to be repatriated to the North if they choose, but none is allowed to visit and come back.

Once an air pilot from the South skipped, with his load of passengers. When they found themselves at Pyongyang instead of Seoul, they began to quake, expecting to be massacred in no time. They were greeted kindly, shown round for three weeks and then sent back. As the North continues to develop and the South to degenerate, sooner or later the curtain of lies must surely begin to tear.

The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy. White supremacy implies black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve white supremacy entrenches this notion.

—Nelson Mandela

Socialism knows no such insulting, iniquitous distinctions as "inferior" and "superior" races among the proletariat. It is for capitalism to fan the fires of such sentiments in its schemes to keep the proletariat divided.

—Daniel DeLeon

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THE LEAP THAT DID NOT REST

BY D. S. DAWSON

Living in Kaifeng is very slightly similar to my days in Fort Smith, Arkansas. Trains from one busy metropolis to another passed through each day, newspapers gave us world and national events—the big news at that time was the Leopold and Loeb murder trial, and the Teapot Dome scandal. Few in the town had traveled beyond the State of Arkansas, and life was at a local level, sharing in the technical prosperity of America, but self-sustained in its interests. Where others would write from New York, Chicago, Dallas, or San Francisco, my letters were full of sewing bees, church performances of plays, and the rare flurry of a visiting theatrical troupe taking over one of the two movie theaters of the town.

Kaifeng, equally off the beaten track, is far larger, with a population of 300,000, much of it in the rural outskirts. Besides several movies it has five theaters, its own operatic troupe, and plays and operas each month by touring companies from the large coastal cities. Last week, as my daughter and I roamed the market in the old temple compound in the heart of town, we came across an industrial exhibition of the products now made in Kaifeng. And here I got a realization of the Great Leap Forward which would have escaped me in any large metropolis.

Reading of it in America, I had the impression of the Great Leap as an expensive bust, leading nowhere, until I realized most of the common people whom I met here were confidently speaking of "our next Leap Forward." And at this exhibit I found that, like Joe Hill, it had never died. At Liberation there were five factories in Kaifeng, relying heavily on handicraft, with a modicum of machinery. Today there are twenty-three well-diversified, fully mechanized industries, and most of them have

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Mrs. Dawson is an American who teaches English at Kaifeng Normal College, Kaifeng, China, where she recently went to join her daughter who is married to a Chinese and has lived in Kaifeng for 20 years.

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their roots in the Great Leap Forward. There is the large firebrick factory, for instance, which started in the smallest way to fill the necessities of the small steel smelters which sprang up here as everywhere else. Today they not only supply the whole province, but also export their wares. Many of the mechanical and small-parts industries rose directly from the skills learned in steel-making.

In the large entrance courtyard to the 1,200-year old rotunda which holds the other exhibits, is the heavy machinery. During the Great Leap a new-born factory, still feeling its way, was handed some cash and the request to turn out three hundred small combines, come hell of lack of know-how or high water of lack of materials. They conceived the product, made the spare parts, and fitted it all together and supplied the demand. Today they proudly set in motion for us the large combine now produced, which reaps, cuts, threshes, and bales in fast motion.

Opposite this was a pump for lifting water from deep wells, the pipes for which are made by the enamelware industry whose more than two hundred other products were displayed inside. This factory, more than forty years old, was moved from Shanghai in 1954 when the large cities were replacing their outmoded machines, starting Kaifeng and places throughout China on the industrial road with the old machinery, which is still in use in all our local factories. At that time the only enamelware goods produced were mugs and basins of inferior quality, with metal bases imported from abroad. Now domestic sheet-iron is used for the bases, and a very superior quality of enamel. All manufactures in China are rigorously tested and divided into four standards of quality—local, provincial, national, and export. This factory has reached the export standard. Gone are its days of drab and not too serviceable mugs and basins; now its goods are decorative and artistic. In one of my own two basins is a very pleasant long-tailed bird in gray and blue on a branch of red flowers, in the other a replica of the Tieh-ta pagoda; my thermos boasts one of the delicate insect and flower pictures of the noted artist, Chi Pai-shih.

Kaifeng earth is richer in chemicals than as farming soil.

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Soda was extracted in primitive fashion and formed the base of one of the five enterprises in the hands of rich merchants before Liberation. During the Great Leap the need for more and better industrial chemicals came to the fore; now there is a flourishing industry, also up to export standard, not only exploiting the soil, but supplying a variety of industrial and pharmaceutical chemicals. On a lower level, not included in this exhibition but evident everywhere through the large earthen urns that are used, are the ventures of block and district communes which extract and refine soda by means of filtration and evaporation, to sell directly to the government.

Honan has always been a producer of silk, wool, and cotton. The best grades of all fibers were, and still are, sold to factories in Shanghai and other large cities. Before Liberation what was left was spun as a cottage industry and woven by other cottagers into coarse raw silk, very rough wool, and the cotton homespun still popular among the peasants. The products were sold locally to merchants, and one of the latter set up a small establishment to wind the cotton thread on large commercial spools by means of a big wooden cylinder, hand turned. Later, when this became a cooperative venture, a donkey was supplied by one of the members, to be replaced by a machine devised from locally-smelted steel. Today all three fibers are turned into bolts of materials of different weights, shades, and patterns; twenty different synthetic materials have been added, and a rainbow of fine to heavy woollen knitting yarns.

As city communes developed and more women left full-time housework for other jobs, remaining housewives gave part-time service in nurseries, communal kitchens, and sewing rooms; teams which could spare the cash invested in a sewing machine; besides the neighborhood mending, the women learned to tailor. At the Great Leap some of their teachers, the local tailors, combined their resources and, with an already-skilled labor supply, set up a factory within the commune. Now it supplies shirts, fur-lined woolen jackets, children's wear, and other things for export, as well as supplying all types of clothing locally and farther afield.

Other businesses which have grown from the combination of local craftsmen and the stimulus of the Great Leap are the

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factory which specializes in sturdier and smaller wheel-frames for handcarts (still used in great number) as well as small machine parts, a merger of five bicycle repair shops of former years; the advance of the factory which used to make electric plugs only, to multiple electrical manufactures; the wines, brandy, and beer that stem from household making of wine for home consumption; and the flourishing cigarette factory with brands from poor (and very cheap) to export grade. Numerous consumer goods have sprung into existence and become large-scale business, such as the paper industry, which manufactures all types and grades of paper for every use; and its auxiliary, printing.

To explain the running of this industry one must revive another dodo, killed in the American press some years ago. That is the city commune. I have already spoken of the neighborhood soda plants, projects on the team or lowest level of the commune. Another we came upon in our wanderings is the goat dairy with more than a hundred snowy white goats (four brown animals among them stood out like country cousins) in corrals in a large clean yard, with milking stables on each side. It was after my daughter translated her conversation with the three attendants on duty that I realized the whole town, divided into districts, also has district communes. She, with a Chinese outlook from twenty years of residency, had taken it for granted that *everyone* knew this; I, with my Western outlook, had taken everything I saw as small-time businesses, at most cooperative affairs. Now I entered stores and slithered my way across streets between carters and large trucks with a very new idea of these things. She explained that block nurseries and communal kitchens, also run on this level, had been given up temporarily when natural disasters struck the country, but were likely to be soon revived now that conditions are so much improved. Kindergartens, medical clinics (which one sees everywhere), and small industries are all at the brigade level; at the district level are the larger industries, public utilities, and the care of housing—where apartments have not yet replaced the old housing this is carefully watched and kept in a state of repair till the day when it can be torn down for better homes.

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At the communal or city level is the entire municipal government, as in our own cities in America.

Living in a quiet courtyard, filled with flowers and trees, on the college campus—itself tree-lined, with sudden blazes of flower-filled gardens—I have admired the way the students, and teachers too, pridefully keep the whole place swept and garnished: one evidence of the social spirit welding this college of more than 4,000 souls into a collective cheerful group which never forgets that it is a group. Now my admiration extends to the city of Kaifeng, and to the whole of China which I have glimpsed through this minute and little known corner.

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Raid on Sterling

During the autumn of 1964, while the British government was passing from Conservative to Labor hands, British exports rose moderately but imports rose so sharply that the resulting export deficit for the year (imports minus exports) seemed likely to reach $2.3 billion. Since Britain was buying abroad $2.3 billion more than she sold, she must find $2.3 billion in gold or other currencies based on gold to cover the deficit.

British gold and foreign exchange reserves in October 1964 actually amounted to only $2.4 billion. Against this $2.4 billion of reserves, Britain owed its foreign creditors $11.9 billion, or five times its total reserves. The liabilities took the form of claims to pounds sterling held by governments, banks, business houses, and private individuals, that might be presented at any time, with a demand for gold or gold-based currencies, of which Britain was in short supply.

Prime Minister Wilson's new government, with its narrow margin of four votes in a Parliament of six hundred members, was thus confronted by a first-class financial crisis. It must either raise the official interest rate sharply (drawing "hot" money to London for the added interest) or else devalue the pound sterling and pay its debts with cheaper money, a confession of semi-insolvency. It chose to raise the official interest rate by 40 percent (from 5 to 7 percent), made some tax readjustments, and poured enough money into the foreign exchange market to keep the pound at its par of $2.80. At the height of the crisis the British Government was spending nearly $100,000,000 a day to hold the pound at par.

Britain's pound is more than a national currency. About one third of the world's trade is carried on by nations of the sterling area, using the pound as the medium for their transactions. Individuals and private businesses outside of Great Britain hold more than $5-billion worth of British pounds. If

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this entire sum had been dumped into the exchange market Britain's reserves of gold and foreign exchange would have been wiped out twice over.

Such a situation resulted in the general financial collapse of 1931, which aggravated the depression that had begun two years earlier. In its issue of November 29, 1964, the *New York Times* wrote of the financial crisis during the preceding week: "For a time the whole world monetary system seemed to be reeling and in danger of toppling."

On Monday, November 23, the central banks of eleven countries put $3 billion into a reserve fund that could be loaned to Britain and used to hold the pound at $2.80. As we write (on December 1) the acute crisis has been met, but the underlying situation has not changed, except for the $3 billion loan which adds a further item to the debt load of Britain's overburdened economy.

These fundamental aspects of the financial crisis of October-November 1964, raise several important questions:

(1) Was the run on the pound sterling organized to upset and destroy Britain's "socialist" Labor Government elected in mid-October?

(2) Did anti-socialist United States business interests or the violently anti-socialist Central Intelligence Agency play a part in the operation?

(3) Is the capitalist international financial structure so fragile that a single push, like the devaluation of the pound sterling, could topple it into a major financial catastrophe?

(4) Would international monopoly capitalism, like Sampson, pull down its temple and perish under the ruins in order to put a "socialist" government, like that of Prime Minister Wilson, out of business?

(5) Have we any reason to suppose that in 1965 the British economy will reduce the apparent $2.3 billion trade deficit of 1964?

Lack of space and of reliable information prevents us from answering the first four questions. As to the fifth, we note that during the two decades 1945-1964 Great Britain has had a sizable trade deficit. Beginning in 1954 the deficit has ranged

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from something less than $2 billion per year to the apparent 1964 deficit of well over that figure.

Commenting on "The Future," the *New York Times* of November 29 wrote that Britain's first job must be to improve its persistent trade deficit, adding that "there remain grave doubts . . . whether the deeper ills of Britain's economy can or will be cured. Britain must be made more competitive or the crisis will arise again." In a word, Britain's war-worn, stagnating economy must meet the prices and the quality of goods turned out by the re-machined, reorganized, up-to-the-minute economies of West Germany, Japan, and the United States.

On the other side of the picture, the *New York Times* of November 29 suggests that it is "wrong and dangerous that the plight of one country like Britain should raise the threat of major economic difficulty for all the others." In short, ring out the old, ring in the new.

This will be bad news for the British, whose industries topped the world for a century and whose pound was accepted as the medium for international financial transactions. Understandably, the superannuated and the outmoded hate to yield place. Nevertheless, the crisis of October-November 1964 suggests that the time has come when Britain must step down from its high position in international finance as it has already given up its place as "the world's workshop" and leading empire, and be content to act the part of a second-class power.

Labor's Giant Step

The drive that resulted in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) increased the number of trade union members from about three million in 1929 to six times that number by 1955 when the CIO merged with the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The CIO's birthday was November 9, 1935, twenty years before the merger. The history of those years is the theme of *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis (New York, 1964).

Art Preis took an active part in the stirring events that followed the collapse of "permanent prosperity" in 1929. He writes his rather lengthy history of the CIO from personal experience, supplemented by extensive research in the last forty years of the United States labor movement. In a very real sense,

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Labor's Giant Step is an economic and political history of United States labor during the past three decades.

The depression years multiplied the number of union members. It did not add to their militancy. On the contrary, rapidly mounting productivity during and after the 1941-1945 war resulted in more jobs, higher incomes, and enlarged union membership. The merger of the CIO with the AFL in 1955 stabilized the CIO's position and sapped much of the enthusiasm which was so abundant during the drive to unionize mass production industry. In recent years especially, attempts to organize the unorganized seem to have met with indifferent success. At the same time the earlier militancy in CIO unions, especially the United Auto Workers, has been on the wane.

If this book had appeared in 1946 or even as late as 1955, grandiose assertions such as "The unions are the combat organizations of the working class. . . . The unions retain their basic class character and function. . . . An awakening of *political* class consciousness will place the American workers in the center of the arena of world history. . . . A workers' and farmers' government in this country will become a new starting point for the forward march of all humanity" might have seemed justifiable. Ten years later, in 1964-1965, the industrial unions, like their craft counterparts, have settled down to the humdrum of collective bargaining, under the supervision of a United States government dominated and manned by representatives of big business, with organized labor scantily represented. Recent union recruiting drives to bring in the unorganized have met with no success comparable to that of the 1930's.

The CIO was built up in the decade following 1929. Three decades later, in the 1960's, what is the perspective? Let the author of *Labor's Giant Step* answer the question: "American politics of the past hundred years has been channeled into the electoral struggles between the Democratic and Republican Parties. Both parties are alike in their dedication to the private profit system and in their defense of monopoly capitalism. . . . The two major parties are the property of wealthy business interests who select in advance judges and mayors and city councilmen, governors and state legislators, congressmen and senators and presidents of the United States. . . . The labor leaders who

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profess to speak for the largest and most necessary sector of American society—the wage workers—shun any independent political program and embrace the politics of labor's enemies."

Labor's Giant Step was written before the 1964 election campaign during which the AFL-CIO unions gave almost unanimous support to the Johnson-Humphrey ticket, which had widespread backing from the military-industrial complex.

Labor officialdom has settled down into the camp of the military-industrial oligarchy which owns and manages the key sectors of the American economy—in the author's words "the camp of labor's enemies." If labor's giant step made the headlines thirty years ago, it merits little more than a footnote in 1965.

The Multiple Revolution

MR's Review of the Month for November 1964 dealt with a report on The Triple Revolution (in cybernetics, in weaponry, and in civil rights). The term "triple revolution" is inaccurate and misleading because it suggests that the current world revolution is only threefold. On the contrary, it is multifold.

The 19th century life pattern has been drastically altered (revolutionized) during the past fifty years in many directions. Here are some of the most obvious:

(1) *Sources of energy.* From wood and coal to oil, natural gas, electricity, the atom.

(2) *Transportation.* From railroads and indifferent roads, to autos, trucks, super-highways, aviation, space rockets.

(3) *Communication.* From press, telegraph, and telephone to camera, radio, television, and telecommunication.

(4) *Mechanized earth moving.* From pick, shovel, wheelbarrow, and wagon to truck, bulldozer, grader, power shovel, scoop, conveyor.

(5) *Growth of synthetics.* Fibers and materials, metal alloys.

(6) *Mechanization of agriculture and commerce.* Tractors, specialized power tools, business machines.

(7) *Automation of industry.* Assembly lines, mass production, cybernetics.

(8) *Mass marketing.* Mail order, advertising, installment

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selling, supermarkets, shopping centers with extensive parking space.

(9) *Growing leisure.* Five-day week, paid holidays and vacations.

(10) *Inclusive social security.*

(11) *The production of abundance.* Stockpiled economic surpluses.

(12) *Nationwide economic and social planning.*

(13) *Collective research.* Discovery and invention by work teams of specialists.

(14) *A broad mass culture, from a limited class culture.*

(15) *Total mechanized war, instead of limited conventional war.*

(16) *Independence and self-determination.* The anti-imperialist movement of colonial and dependent peoples.

(17) *Anti-Communist movement, by the imperialists and free enterprisers.*

(18) *Socialist construction.* From private enterprise to a planned, socially owned economy.

(19) *Rise and extension of planet-wide society.* League of Nations, United Nations; international trade, travel, cultural exchange.

(20) *Redivision of world power.* Top-billing North America; downgrading Europe; upthrust of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

If a revolution is an overturn or turning over, involving changes in principle rather than in details, the items listed above are revolutions—several among the many that have occurred and are occurring during the lifetime of the present generation. Taken together, they constitute the current world revolution.

Did the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution limit the number of revolutions to three, and bypass socialist construction and other significant aspects of the world revolution, in a deliberate attempt to belittle the world revolution and thus help to hold the line for the crumbling Atlantic alliance of dismembered, obsolete 19th century empires?

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison.

—*Henry David Thoreau*

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BOOKS

THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS

BY NELL SALM

"We have in this country today a movement which will take its place alongside that of the abolitionists, the Populists, the Progressives—and may outdo them all." Dr. Howard Zinn, historian and teacher, has written an absorbing account of this movement—or at least that part of it represented by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—commonly pronounced Snick).* He emphasizes in his introduction that he is very much aware of the magnificent work done by people in other civil rights organizations. "Perhaps I pay special attention to SNCC," he explains, "because these are the people I know best." (Zinn has been an advisor to SNCC since its inception.) His book covers the period from the 1960 sit-ins to the spring of 1964. Hence, the Mississippi Summer Project is not included; neither are the Philadelphia murders. It may therefore be with some surprise that the Northern white reader, having heard so much about the idealistic white middle-class college students who have gone off to face danger and death in darkest Mississippi, will discover that most of the heroes and leaders of SNCC are not white. "As of 1964," Zinn points out "about 150 people worked full-time for SNCC, roughly 80 percent of them Negro. . . . If one were to generalize roughly about the SNCC staff in the deep South, one would say they are young [about three fourths of the total SNCC Mississippi staff in 1963 was betwen 15 and 22 years old], they are Negro, they come from the South, their families are poor and of the working class, but they have been to college." These, then, are the new abolitionists—leaders of "a major social movement which is shaking the nation to its bones." Incredible? Well, yes, it's pretty incredible.

Nell Salm is book production editor of Monthly Review Press.

* Howard Zinn, *SNCC: the New Abolitionists,* Beacon Press, Boston, 1964, $4.95.

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It all began on February 1, 1960, when four freshmen at a Negro college in Greensboro, North Carolina, took seats at a lunch counter downtown. Zinn devotes only a paragraph to that momentous event—a paragraph illumined by the laconic statement of one of the demonstrators: "For about a week, we four fellows sat around . . . talking about the integration movement. And we decided we ought to go down to Woolworth's and see what would happen." What happened was that they started a movement that soon took on the proportions of a revolution. Within a year over 50,000 people — mostly Negroes — had participated in one kind of demonstration or another in a hundred cities in the United States and over 3,600 demonstrators had spent time in jail.

At first there was no central direction to the sit-ins. Each one simply showered sparks which caught fire in other communities throughout the South. Hardly a month had passed, however, before Ella Baker, then in charge of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference office in Atlanta and an experienced civil rights worker and organizer, decided something should be done to coordinate the spontaneous demonstrations. A conference was called for Easter weekend, 1960, which was attended by over 200 people, including 126 student delegates from 50 Southern communities in 12 states. SNCC, as an organization, was born at this conference. Before long, its work had spread out into other forms of direct-action campaigns and then into voter registration drives.

By all odds, after reading Zinn's account of these developments and their repercussions, the reader should be feeling pretty depressed. For in telling the story of SNCC, Dr. Zinn has described quite a variety of horrible happenings. In Orangeburg, South Carolina, marchers supporting the sit-ins are drenched by water hoses in sub-freezing weather and then jammed into wire enclosures with no shelter against the bitter cold. Unprotected freedom riders walk off a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, into a crowd swinging baseball bats. Voter registration workers are thrown into filthy jails without mattresses or covering of any kind, often spending hours and even days at a time in "the hot box" (a minuscule cell with inadequate ventilation adjoining the boiler room). Such stories are all too depressingly familiar by now.

And yet this is not a depressing book. On the contrary, it is an exhilarating book, a beautiful book. "These are beautiful people down here," wrote a white Texas girl to Zinn from Mississippi shortly after she arrived there to work for SNCC. Says Zinn: "She was speaking of a beauty of spirit, of a courage beyond comprehension, which pervades the ranks of the new abolitionists in the Deep South." Zinn is able to communicate to his readers a sense of what the Texas girl meant and, in doing so, he gives them far more than

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another documentation of incidents of terror in the Deep South. Wherever possible, he uses the words of the SNCC people themselves to tell the story, and these passages are the most moving and revealing, giving vivid testimony to the terrible beauty that is being born in the Deep South today. The numerous excerpts Zinn quotes from letters, diaries, and reports written by the student workers indicate that these remarkable young people have talent as well as courage and conviction, and one has reason to hope that out of the crucible of their experience will come a rich literature.

Any study of the civil rights struggle in this country today must inevitably raise some questions of national as well as local significance. Zinn applies himself to these questions with admirable forthrightness and lucidity. In an excellent chapter toward the end of his book, he poses a question John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, was persuaded to leave out of his address on the occasion of the Washington March. "I want to know: Which side is the federal government on?" Zinn says this is an honest question, which has not yet been answered forthrightly by the actions of the government of the United States.

The point of view of the Justice Department up to now can be summarized in a remark made by Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to a Boston College audience in April, 1964. He said that civil rights workers would have to depend on state and local officials to protect their rights, that "to do anything else would be making major changes in the federal system." Civil rights groups, he said, "through despair or ignorance of the federal system seek to invoke the power of the federal government to enforce personal rights."

Dr. Zinn gives short shrift to this dodge. He patiently quotes chapter and verse of the U.S. Code, the Constitution and Constitutional Amendments, as well as Supreme Court decisions which clearly give the federal government the power to act in protecting the civil rights of its citizens where local authorities have abdicated their responsibilities. "The delicate balance between state and nation in our federal system" says Zinn, "cannot serve as an excuse for unchecked police tyranny. . . . When the Fourteenth Amendment was passed, a hundred years ago, it made explicit what was implied by the loss of half a million lives in the Civil War; that henceforth state and local governments could not deal with their inhabitants unrestrained by national power." This seems to be such an obvious truth that it should be superfluous to say that some of the leading experts on constitutional law in the nation support it. Unfortunately, it does not seem to be that obvious to the Justice Department.

Zinn goes on to criticize two other aspects of federal action in connection with civil rights. One is the appointment of avowed racists to federal judgeships in

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the South. Zinn calls these appointments, made by Kennedy in precisely those years when the civil rights struggle reached its height and court decisions were so crucial, "a great disservice to the cause of racial equality."

Zinn's other criticism has to do with the continued emphasis that has been put on Congressional action, as exemplified by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, rather than on executive responsibility. What remained hidden from the American people amid all the hoop-la surrounding the passage of the Act was that *already existing civil rights legislation was not being effectively enforced.* Zinn states that a disadvantage to legislative action in this field stems from our constitutional tradition "that the president of the United States has almost limitless authority to act to enforce the Constitution . . . provided Congress has not specifically barred such acts or rejected them as legislative proposals. . . . Yale Law School Professor Alexander Bickel has pointed out, for instance, that *the housing provision in the new Civil Rights Bill, because of what it excludes, actually weakens a power that the President had before the bill was proposed.*" (Italics added.)

In the final chapter of his book, Zinn faces the question of the "Revolution Beyond Race." The current crisis in race, he says, "has exposed all sorts of fundamental issues in American society, almost as the search for a solitary tumor may lay open to examination all of a patient's vital organs." It was beyond the scope of this book to consider these issues in depth, but Zinn does make brief and telling note of several of them. He sums up their relevance for the future of SNCC by asking, "What happens when . . . one moves finally into the previously barred room only to find that most of the furniture is occupied and the only place to sit is on the floor? . . . At that point [SNCC's] radicalism, which easily expiates itself as heroism in the battlespots of the Deep South, will face profound questions of social strategy: how to deal with problems like unemployment, job discrimination, bad housing, poor schools, which can be ameliorated but not solved by picket lines."

In conclusion, I would like to touch briefly on what was for this reviewer one of the most moving aspects of the SNCC movement as recounted by Dr. Zinn—that is, the struggle of the young people in SNCC itself to surmount the barriers of race in their relations to each other. Zinn discusses this problem openly and honestly and at considerable length. For me it was most sharply drawn in an exchange of letters between a white worker in a Georgia jail and a local Negro girl. "White boy," wrote the girl, "only a fool would leave his heaven on earth just to fight for undeserving Negroes."

Replied the boy:

I do not understand, Gloria,
It's not heaven on earth I
left. . . . Depends on what

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you mean by heaven. If you mean a place where everyone has so much money they have no sensitivity—no love, no sympathy, and no hopes beyond their own narrow little worlds. . . . But to me the conceited, loud, self-centered All-American free white and twenty-one college boy stinks. I know, I was one. But something happened to make me human, something that I don't yet understand. . . .

There's a poem by E. E. Cummings which reads:

What of a much of a which of a wind
Should give the truth to summer's lie,
Bloodies with dizzying tears fall down.

Well, Gloria, that is what I hope we can do. I hope we can upset people enough to make them human. . . .

It would seem, judging from the extent to which the Mississippi Project has captured the imagination of white students in the North, that the boy who wrote that letter was not alone in thinking Gloria had things turned around. It would be interesting to know to what extent white middle-class participants in the civil-rights struggle became involved out of a sense that something was wrong with the values of their own world, and to what extent their motives were purely altruistic. In other words, did they go South primarily to "help" the Negro or to "be helped" by him? The very fact that such a question can arise in our society today is, I believe, an indication of the impact that the new abolitionists have already had on American life.

Once on the path of progress, the Negro cannot long remain out of the Socialist camp. Well may the Socialist camp make ready to receive this division of the army of the proletariat that has been wandering in the wilderness since 1865.

—Daniel DeLeon

I subscribe to the belief that there is no progress possible anywhere where the differences of people are stifled, their voices are not able to be heard, and where they all speak as one voice, when all of us know that human beings don't feel that way.

—Justice Hugo J. Black, American Character Conference Speech

It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause—not merely to pay the debt of nature, as all must.

—John Brown

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TURBULENT YEARS

BY JAMES WEINSTEIN

For those who would understand the nature of the radicalism of the 1930's and the reasons for the absence of a meaningful radical movement in the 1950's and 1960's, the years immediately before and after the First World War are of central importance. It was then that a broadly-based socialist Left flourished, and then that it disintegrated from external and internal weaknesses. It was also then that the sects which, later (in the 1930's) flowered briefly and misshapenly, formed and developed the characteristics that have led the Left to its present irrelevance. Harvey O'Connor's memoir, *Revolution in Seattle,* is interesting and useful in that it throws a good deal of light on one part of this story.* It recreates for us many of the developments in Northwestern radicalism, in many respects unique, but in others characteristic of that which nurtured the old Socialist movement.

The absence of a dynamic American socialist movement has been so painfully a part of our lives in recent years that it is difficult to recall, or readily to comprehend, that the Socialist Party of America exerted a wide influence in the two decades before 1920, and that radical farmer-labor parties flourished throughout the Midwest and Northwest through 1924. In these years, and especially from 1910 through 1918, the old Socialist party gained mass support at the polls, sustained a widespread and vital press, won a large following in the trade union movement, and influenced the reformers and reforms of the day. The movement never reached the strength of its European counterparts, but it did thrive in the face of all the traditional impediments so often brought up to explain its later absence. It developed major strength among the small farmers of the recently closed frontiers, especially in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Minnesota. It united those of old American stock with newly arrived immigrants. It blossomed in a period of general prosperity. And it attained its greatest presidential vote in 1912, the year Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive party took over substantial sections of the Socialist platform. From 1911 through 1918, Socialists elected 166 mayors in cities

James Weinstein is an editor of *Studies on the Left* and is working on a history of the American Socialist Party.

* Harvey O'Connor, *Revolution in Seattle,* Monthly Review Press, New York, 1964, $5.

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and towns ranging in size from Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Schenectady, down to Winnfield, Louisiana, Chant, Arkansas, and Camas, Washington. The party sent assemblymen and senators to legislatures in 17 states in these years, circulated some 236 periodicals, daily, weekly, and monthly, with a readership of upwards of three million, and organized Socialist clubs on 80 campuses. More important, the party's efforts in this period brought the question of socialism in the United States into the arena of popular discussion and political debate, heavily influencing the policies of Roosevelt's Progressive Party and of the Wilson administrations. Along with the Socialists, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had also grown greatly in strength, from a low of 12,000 members in 1914 to 105,000 in late 1917.

Revolution in Seattle brings these turbulent years back to life with its descriptions of the Wobbly lumber workers, those nomads of the West, brimming over with "cheerful cynicism" and "outspoken contempt for most of the conventions of bourgeois society." *Solidarity*, a Wobbly paper, boasted that the typical IWW was "half industrial slave" and "half vagabond adventurer," and that his lack of fear for his job was possible because, unlike the workers of the East, he had "no wife and family to cumber him." O'Connor details this life of the migrant lumber worker, and his connection to the Socialist and left trade union movements in Seattle. He describes the great lumber strike that won the eight-hour day and other improvements in the Washington forests in 1917; the violent, inhuman suppression of the IWW's and Socialists during the war; the early postwar disillusionment, and the great, but brief, general strike in 1919.

As a memoir, *Revolution in Seattle* is a success in that it brings back to life the spirit of the Northwest of the First World War and rescues from oblivion many dedicated and valiant radicials. (Anna Louise Strong is there, too, starting as a pacifist member of the Seattle School Board and becoming a Socialist as a result of the party's anti-war activity in 1917.) I would like to have seen more analysis of what happened to these radicals after the conclusion of the general strike in 1919. In 1920 the Farmer-Labor Party in Washington led the nation in support of the short-lived FLP's presidential candidate, Parley Parker Christensen, giving him 77,000 votes while it gave local FLP candidates over 100,000 votes. And again in 1922 the Washington FLP elected five state legislators. O'Connor tells us that in the split-up of the Socialist party in 1919 the English-speaking members did not remain with the old party or go into the new Communist parties, but if and how they went into the Farmer-Labor party is unexplored. In this respect Washington was

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typical of what happened throughout the United States in 1919 and after. In 1919 the Socialist Party received dues from 109,000 members. Two years after the split of that year the several Communist and Socialist parties had a total of about 20,000 members. At the same time a series of farmer-labor parties and movements swept back and forth across the Northern tier of states from Illinois to Washington, with many former Socialists giving ideological direction and political leadership. Unfortunately, both the process and the details of what actually happened in these years is mostly unknown, and O'Connor has given us only a few tantalizing glimpses. Even so, his book is valuable in giving the lie to those historians who assert the irrelevance of American radicalism in the years from 1912 to 1924. If there is anyone around who still thinks that the 1930's was the red decade of this century a reading of *Revolution in Seattle* will dispel that illusion.

TRIPLE DELUSION

By Andrew Gunder Frank

We print below additional comment on "The Triple Revolution" initiated in the November issue of MR.—*The Editors*

Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out that the real nature and evils of a country are best seen from its colonies. Viewing the American-centered world capitalist system from its colonies then, it may readily be seen that the "Triple Revolution" is a snare and a delusion. As seen from Vietnam, the Congo, Cuba, or any other capitalist economic colony or ex-colony, the real attributes of the supposed cybernetic, weaponry, and human-rights revolutions distinctly appear as the metropolitan capitalist delusions

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they are. Furthermore, the metropolitan attribution of a technological base to "revolution" and the solution of man's problems is easily unmasked as a counter-revolutionary attempt, like so many others before it, to snare the colonial world's exploited and oppressed people into forsaking their real human revolution for the vain hope of metropolitan technological solutions for their growing misery. More so even than their fallacious conclusions—rightly criticized already by workers in the capitalist metropolis—it is important for the peoples of all the world to reject the Ad Hoc Committee's even more fallacious and pernicious *premise* of triple "revolution."

It is but a cruel hoax on the world's starving millions to argue as the Committee does that cybernetic and nuclear development is doing away with the need for human labor to obtain a decent living. On the contrary, in the train of this metropolitan "revolution," per capita food production in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (excluding the socialist countries) has fallen and continues to fall since before the Second World War. The vast majority of the people in the capitalist world have to labor ever more to consume ever less. Nor do cybernetic and nuclear developments promise industrialization to the peoples of the capitalist world. On the contrary, the structure and development of capitalism promise to turn cybernetics, just like standardization, the assembly line, electricity, the steam engine, and other developments of the industrial "revolution" into metropolitan capitalist instruments for the exploitation and further underdevelopment of its colonies. Like British industrialization and the de-industrialization of India in the past, American cybernetic and nuclear development in the present has already begun to stunt industrialization in the colonial economies and frustrate their people's development efforts by placing the colonial economies ever more firmly under the control of the imperialist metropolis (see my "On Mechanisms of Imperialism," MR, September 1964).

It is a sacrilegious affront to its victims for the Ad Hoc Committee to claim that a weaponry "revolution" has already eliminated war as a method of settling international conflicts at a time when the Committee's government is unabashedly waging cruel foreign colonial wars for "humanitarian" reasons in Viet-

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nam, the Congo, Cuba, and elsewhere—and by its own admission using especially the first of these wars as a testing ground for weaponry development designed for later use against other peoples' human-rights revolutions. Yet still more to be condemned is the Committee's suggestion, apparently all too shared in other quarters as well, that the technological development of nuclear weapons has eliminated the need of external and internal colonial peoples to use arms to defend and liberate themselves from continued capitalist exploitation, now further refined by cybernetic and weaponry developments. Are the peoples of Vietnam, the Congo, and Cuba really to be snared into renouncing weaponry "revolution"? American capitalism's nuclear blackmail of the colonial and socialist peoples is already morally indefensible enough without aggravating it by nuclear delusions.

There is a world "human-rights revolution" indeed. But the Ad Hoc Committee's relegating it to playing second fiddle to supposed technologically based cybernetic and weaponry "revolution" is a clear—however well intentioned—attempt to subvert the real human-rights *revolution* into superficial reforms designed to save capitalism and its exploitation. This is far from the first time in the history of capitalism that the masters have told the slaves that the masters' new weapons make revolution inadvisable and that the masters' new technology now renders this human revolution unnecessary anyway. As seen from the colonies, the Committee is only adding its voice to the already resounding pseudo-scientific refrain from the capitalist metropolis that metropolitan science and technology will bring peace and plenty to all—that is, if only capitalist freedom to exploit in the "free world" be preserved, if necessary at the price of some reforms, but inevitably at the cost of ever increasing physical and cultural starvation for the majority of the capitalist world's people. No, in the colonies it is clear that the real human rights revolution is the colonial war which has been shamelessly imposed on the capitalist world's oppressed but which is accepted and fought by them with dignity.

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CAN THE MACHINES RUN THEMSELVES?

By Stuart Meacham

The Crowleys may be right about the hope of the future resting now at last with the lumpens. If true, this would not be the first time that the stone which the builder has rejected should become the headstone of the corner, or that salvation should arrive through those who, unlike the foxes, have not where to lay their heads. But what I cannot see is how the thing would work. It is one thing to be called but another to be ready. Who is going to see to it that the machinery keeps churning out all the stuff? The machinery itself?

Seriously, do the Crowleys mean to suggest that the time will come when cybernation can just be turned on and left on and that it will do its stuff right on down through all eternity, laying hold on the raw materials, deciding what needs to be done with them, revising the designs, adapting to meet the changes, building its own replacement, etc., etc., etc.?

Unless they do mean this, who do they see tending to the machinery once the lumpens have taken over? When the first thing goes wrong which the machinery itself cannot fix, who will take care of that? The suggestion of a messianic role for the lumpens is fascinating, but I cannot see the Triple Revolutionary world settling into a situation of benign anarchy. There will just be too much needing to be managed for that.

But I am glad that the Crowleys make the point that the weaponry revolution and the civil rights revolution also need to be spelled out and the dynamic relationship between them and the cybernation revolution needs analysis and theoretical explanation. What is equivalent, in terms of the weaponry revolution, to the guaranteed income of the cybernation revolution? What is the civil rights revolution's equivalent? How are the three related?

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The Triple Revolution statement captured the imagination of people because it was consistent and bold enough to call for a break in the income-through-jobs link. There needs to be enough equal boldness and consistency in dealing with the weaponry revolution to call for a break in the security-through-weapons link, and in the civil rights revolution to call for a break in the link between limitation on franchise and social power. What goes in the place of these broken links? Guaranteed income? Nonviolence as a means of national defense? One man one vote everywhere on everything? I think so—but how?

What we need to get through our heads is that the "how" really has to be answered. This is no mere exercise in utopian skull-popping. Cybernation is now destroying the income-through-jobs link, and unless society finds a way to come to terms with this fact and allows the new productive capacities to be developed and used, the whole thing will either stagnate or come apart at the seams.

Nuclear weaponry is now destroying the security-through-weapons link, yet we go on acting as if security depends upon war. We *can* destroy ourselves. War has *not* been discarded yet. Eventually there must be a world in which war is not a part of the system; but until we get it, we are going to have power struggles among nations which are going to have to be dealt with in power terms. What "non-weapons" kinds of power are relevant to this need?

The civil rights struggle in the United States and the anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa and the anti-monolithic struggle in the Soviet Union all prove that stable government is no longer possible if people are excluded from participation by categories. Government by the elite no longer works. Is it possible to have government in the age of technology which is genuinely based on universal franchise?

It may be that mankind, relieved of the goad of economic scarcity, is incapable of maintaining productive creativity. It may be impossible to establish security in terms of nonviolent resistance that can stand up to and at last overcome nuclear violence. It may be that we can never learn to govern except in terms of privilege. If so, we now are sunk; for the triple

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revolution, if it means anything, means that these are the conditions of realizing the future.

I think that this truly is a triple revolution and it needs to be tackled on all three fronts in a unified way. Nonviolence as a substitute for war would mean, among other things, utilization of cybernation for meeting human need rather than building weapons systems. This will be politically possible only if *all* of the people are considered and involved. The distribution problem (or opportunity) opened up by cybernation is not going to be squarely faced so long as war production is available as a bottomless pit to absorb excess productive capacities and justify silencing the protest and the demands of the people. The people are not going to get a real share in government so long as the secrecy of military preparations and the private uses of cybernation keep both security and distribution in the hands of the elite.

The great need is for a unifying of the forces for peace, civil rights, and economic opportunity. Some may feel that peace is the key issue; others civil rights; others economic opportunity. Let that be as it may so long as there is awareness that work in any one of these areas can succeed only as the resources for change in the other two are used and linked in, and the triple revolution moves ahead as a consistent process.

If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen.

—*Henry David Thoreau*

We are in a bad way, I'm afraid, when we try to solve our problems by mass killing or by paddling off to a bigger island in space. . . . Our missile program is the swan song of a dying civilization. We don't need better missiles to destroy each other—the ones we now have will do the job adequately.

—*A. R. J. Grosch, Manager of space programs for IBM, New York Times, March 21, 1959.*

No nation has a right to call itself wealthy when it allows even the least of its citizens to live like animals.

—*Robert Smith, The York Gazette and Daily*

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A new and much needed organization has been formed—the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life, or CERGE for short. CERGE's functions are to expose the repressive, fascist-like policies of the (oh-so-liberal) Democratic administration of New York City against the people of Harlem; and to help financially and otherwise to defend those who stand up and fight against these policies. One of its main preoccupations at present is to publicize the operations and defend the victims of the grand jury investigation being carried on by District Attorney Frank Hogan's office. Ostensibly this investigation is trying to discover the causes of last summer's Harlem rebellion. In practice, it is trying to do a hatchet job on the Progressive Labor Movement, the May Second Movement, the Harlem Defense Council, and all other militant organizations and individuals who are trying to rouse the American people to an understanding of the suicidal nature of this country's imperialist and racist policies at home and abroad. This struggle in New York has not been getting the publicity of the struggle in Mississippi, but it is our considered judgment that it is just as important. CERGE needs and deserves all the support, personal as well as financial, you can give it. All communications and checks to: CERGE, 147 West 42nd Street, Suite 904, New York City.

The Militant Labor Forum announces a lecture on "Existentialism and Marxism: Are The Two Philosophies Compatible?" at 8:30 P.M. on January 15, at the Forum Hall, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3. The speaker will be William F. Warde, author of *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism.*

We mourn the death, at the age of 92, of our old friend Alexander Meiklejohn. In the words of Corliss Lamont's statement, issued in the name of ECLC, he was "one of the most uncompromising and determined fighters for the Bill of Rights in the history of this country. For most of his adult life, he was taking an active part in the deepening struggle for civil liberties, and at his death was leading the campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Alexander Meiklejohn was a superb human being and a most amiable, stimulating, and inspiring friend. Outstanding as an educator, scholar, writer, and civil libertarian, he must be ranked as one of the great Americans."

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